DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 963 CG 012 557

AUTHOR Lane, William C.
TITLE The Subculture of the Aging, Aging Group-Conciousness, and Morale.
SPONS AGENCY Educational Solutions, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE Nov 77
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Conference of the Gerontological Society (29th, New York, N.Y., October, 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Group Membership; *Identification (Psychological); *Morale; *Older Adults; *Peer Relationship; Research Projects; *Self Concept; Self Esteem; Social Relations; *Subculture; Theories; Values
IDENTIFIERS *Aging

ABSTRACT

The central concern of this paper is to examine the subculture of the aging theory and the relationship between aging group-consciousness and morale. Aging group-consciousness is postulated to be one of the major components of an aging subculture. A study of 81 older people was conducted in a rural, multi-story housing facility. Questionnaires were used to collect the data. A six-item index was developed to measure aging group-consciousness and morale was measured by the Kutner Morale Scale. Analysis of the data indicated that a significant number of residents viewed themselves as members of an emerging social group. Aging group-consciousness was found to be positively correlated with morale at the .02 level. It was concluded that the data supported the subculture of the aging theory. The most important implications of the findings are that programs which foster the development of an aging subculture could make a contribution to a higher level of morale for older residents of congregate housing and that the denial of chronological aging may result in a decrease in the level of morale, and not an increase in it. (Author)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED156963

THE SUBCULTURE OF THE AGING, AGING GROUP-CONSCIOUSNESS, AND MORALE*

William C. Lane

Kansas State University

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

W. C. Lane

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

A paper prepared for presentation at the 30th Annual Scientific Meeting of the Gerontological Society, San Francisco, California November 18-22, 1977

*Funds for the preparation of this paper were provided by the Midwest Council for Social Research in Aging. Not for reproduction, quotation or any other use without permission of the author.

CG 012557

ABSTRACT

The central concern of this paper is to examine the subculture of the aging theory and the relationship between aging group-consciousness and morale. Aging group-consciousness is postulated to be one of the major components of an aging subculture.

A study of 81 older people was conducted in a rural, multi-story housing facility. Questionnaires were used to collect the data. A six-item index was developed to measure aging group-consciousness and morale was measured by the Kutner Morale Scale. Analysis of the data indicated that a significant number of residents viewed themselves as members of an emerging social group. Aging group-consciousness was found to be positively correlated with morale at the .02 level. It was concluded that the data supported the subculture of the aging theory. The most important implications of the findings are that programs which foster the development of an aging subculture could make a contribution to a higher level of morale for older residents of congregate housing and that the denial of chronological aging may result in a decrease in the level of morale, and not an increase in it.

THE SUBCULTURE OF THE AGING, AGING GROUP-CONSCIOUSNESS, AND MORALE*

The subculture of the aging theory was developed by Arnold Rose (1962, 1965a). This theory holds that there is a growing awareness among many older people that they are not merely members of a social category, but a social group with common problems and a distinctive subculture. The major components of the aging subculture are a status system, a special set of values, aging self-conception, and aging group-consciousness. Few empirical studies have examined the theory.

The central concern of the present study was to examine one important component of the subculture of the aging theory, aging group-consciousness. In particular, two basic questions were examined: (1) to what degree does aging group-consciousness exist among older people living in an age concentrated community and (2) what is the relationship, if any, between aging group-consciousness and morale?

THE SUBCULTURE OF THE AGING THEORY

Subcultures develop when a group of persons are separated from the larger society and interact more with each other than with others. Rose (1962:124) argued that, although there are factors that inhibit the development of an aging subculture, a

---

*The author would like to thank Eugene Friedmann, Dale Frihart, Harold Orbach, and George Peters for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

number of societal trends are creating the necessary conditions for this subculture to develop. These trends include population aging, the general improvement of the health status of those over 65, increasing self-segregating trends, and the increased solvency of older people as a result of Social Security and private pensions.

Rose (1962:124) identified four major components of the subculture of the aging. First, there is the status system of the elderly. While part of this status system is a carryover from the general society, a portion develops out of the distinctive values of the aging subculture. Health and social activity are two of the most important distinctive subcultural values. Second, the attitudes of older people differ from those of the rest of the population regarding a number of topics. These attitudinal differences include areas such as sexual activity, death, marriage, interpersonal relationships, and leisure activities. Aging self-conception, the third major component, refers to the fact that most older persons eventually come to think of themselves as being old. Rose (1962:124) stated that an attitude of active resistance toward aging minimizes the development of an aging subculture.

The final major component of the aging subculture is aging group-consciousness. According to Rose (1964:10), aging group-consciousness, or "aging group-identification," begins to develop as older people become aware of themselves as a social group:

> They (older people) are starting to think of their problems less in individual terms and more in collective terms. They show more of a tendency to share each other's

> company -- to have more age-graded social relations -- and to exhibit pride in such achievements as hobbies and performances of skill.

This new phenomenon of aging group-consciousness develops in three stages or phases.

The first phase involves joining an age graded association, such as a Senior Citizens Club. While those organizations are usually formed for social reasons, discussion at their meetings often concerns common problems and issues concerning the elderly (Trela, 1971:122). The second phase occurs when older people begin to discuss problems, such as inadequate income, medical care, nursing home care, and general problems centered around retirement, in a constructive way (Rose, 1962). Finally, aging group-consciousness becomes manifest among older people when they began to talk about their common problems with an awareness that those problems occur to them as a social group and not simply as individuals. Rose (1962:126) hypothesized that it is during this third phase that older people began to talk in terms of social action and the possible consequences of state and national legislation.

Although the aging subculture is commonly referred to in the gerontological literature, only four published studies (Bultena, 1968; Cutler, 1973; Rose, 1965b; Ward, 1977) concerning the theory were located. In the first study, Bultena (1968: 539) found that older persons interacted more with each other than with younger persons. However, there was no support for the proposition that this increase in intra-cohort interaction was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in social ties in extended family and community groups. Cutler (1973:73) studied

the preceptions of prestige loss among older persons. He found that prestige loss was a variable factor among these aged persons who favored governmental intervention and organized political activity for older persons.

The study by Rose (1965b) compared the members of a local age-graded organization for the elderly with a sample of non-members living in the community. Rose (1965b:24-35) found higher levels of aging group-consciousness among the members of the organization than among non-members. Those with high levels of aging group-consciousness associated more with their own age mates, had more demands, resentments, and pride associated with their aging, and were more likely to think that older people should organize politically to demand their rights than those with lower levels of aging group-consciousness.

Ward (1977:499) examined the hypothesis "that aging group-consciousness, presumably an initial step in the emergence of an aging subculture, should enhance self-esteem and morale." A seven-item aging group-consciousness scale was developed and self-esteem was measured by a ten-item global measure.[1] According to Ward (1977), there was no evidence that aging group-consciousness was widespread in his sample. However, the "political" aspects of the aging subculture, generalized feelings about the need for group organization, were more widespread than the "personal aspects" of the aging subculture. Ward (1977:511) also found that "a major implication of a subculture of the aged

---

[1]Comparing the index developed for the present study with the scale developed by Ward, 2 questions are similar, 2 are somewhat similar, while the other questions are different.

seems to be the enhancement of self-esteem." He concludes that resistance to aging is a barrier to the development of an aging subculture. That is, those older people who identified themselves as "middle aged" tended to have both lower levels of aging group-consciousness and self esteem than did those who identified themselves as "elderly."

Irving Rosow (1974:72-76) has stated a number of important criticisms of the theory. First, even if the conditions which Rose stated contribute to the development of an aging subculture continue to emerge, it does not necessarily follow that aging group-consciousness will develop. Secondly, Rose assumed, according to Rosow, that old people will always persue their self-interest rationally. However, Rosow (1974:73) argues that "objective interests may be sacrificed to status considerations and, consequently, propitious conditions do not necessarily produce the rational action he (Rose) envisions." Finally, Rosow (1974:76) concludes "that most older people emphatically do <u>not</u> identify themselves with the aged and that they are most reluctant to do so." Therefore, the emergence of aging group-consciousness remains extremely problematic.

Rosow's criticisms of the subculture of the aging theory result, in part, from the problem discussed in this section. That is, there have been few empirical studies directly examining the theory and Rosow is forced to use the findings of studies concerning issues related to Rose's theory. While the present study does not answer Rosow's criticisms in full, it does represent a starting point for directly examining the

subculture of the aging theory.[2]

The present study focused upon the components of the aging subculture, and the concept of aging group-consciousness in particular, and the possible relationship between that concept and morale. Given that orientation, the following hypotheses were examined:

1. The longer a person is a member of an age-concentrated community, the more likely he or she will be to adopt a special set of values.
2. The longer a person is a resident of an age-concentrated community, the higher the degree of aging group-consciousness.
3. The higher the level of aging group-consciousness, the higher the level of morale.

The methods used in the present study will be discussed in the following section. The major findings of the study, emphasizing the trends in the data, will then be presented. That presentation will be followed by a discussion of those findings.

METHOD

Location of the Study and Sample

The present study was conducted during April, 1975, in a seven-story housing unit (hereafter referred to as "High Rise") for low and middle income elderly located in Southeast Kansas.[3]

---

[2]While Rosow has presented a number of criticisms of the subculture of the aging theory, his work remains sympathetic to this approach. See Rosow (1967) and (1974), especially pp. 155-71.

[3]A single individual was allowed a maximum total income of $4,000 a year, while couples could receive $4,600 a year. A restriction to $15,000 in assets applied to both groups.

The structure was similar in both size and construction to other age-concentrated housing units in the area. Of the 101 residents living in High Rise, 96 were contacted and 81, or 84 percent, agreed to participate.[4] The sample consisted of 69 women and 12 men who ranged in age from 63 to 93. The median age of the women in the sample was 75.3 years, while 78.8 years was the median age of the men.

Data Collection and Analysis

Respondents were administered a 44-item questionnaire by the author, assisted by the members of the resident's elected "house council" who helped to reduce access problems. In addition, a subsample of 22 randomly selected respondents were interviewed using a 15-item open-ended interview schedule. All interviews were conducted by the author.

Variables

Aging group-consciousness. This variable was measured using a six-item index. The questions were derived from the stages of development of aging group-consciousness. One point was given for each response designed as favorable. The range of scores was from 0 to 6. Cumulative scores of from 0 to 2 were rated as low levels of aging group-consciousness, 3 was considered a moderate level, and scores of from 4 to 6 were rated as high. The items in the index are listed in Table 1.[5]

---

[4]The five residents not contacted were either out of the city or in the hospital during the study. The response rate must be considered high when compared with other studies.

Insert Table 1 about here

Morale. Morale was measured by the Kutner Morale Scale (Kutner et al., 1956:302-3). The morale scores were classified as follows: 0 to 2 as low morale, 3 to 4 as moderate morale, and 5 to 7 as high morale. The scores ranged from 0 to 7. The items in the scale are reported in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

FINDINGS

Aging Group-Consciousness

The three components of aging group-consciousness, membership in organizations for older people, social interaction among the aged, and the perceptions of the problems faced by older people, were examined separately.

Organizational membership. The findings from the questionnaire revealed that membership in the Senior Center and length of residence in High Rise were not associated. However, 79.5 percent of the residents attended some activities at the Center, including all the residents who had lived in the building under 2 years. There was also no significant relationship between length of residence and membership in local or national age graded organizations. In addition, although 38.5 percent of the

[5]The findings indicated that the residents of High Rise did not move there because they possessed a high level of aging group-consciousness. For example, no respondents stated they moved into High Rise because of a desire to live near other older people and only 6 percent had ever considered any type of congregate housing.

residents were members of a local or national age graded association, there was no significant relationship between membership and length of residence.

Interaction and discussion of problems. According to Rose (1962:126) the early manifestations of aging group-consciousness includes a growing desire on the part of older people to interact with others their own age and to discuss the problems of aging with them. In the present study 72.8 percent of the residents maintained friendships with persons within their own age range. In addition, the longer a resident had lived in High Rise, the more likely he or she was to indicate they enjoyed being with older people more than with younger people.[6]

Concerning the discussion of aging and related issues, only 8.6 percent of the respondents felt that it was more difficult to discuss aging since moving into High Rise, while 85.2 percent indicated they had experienced no change or that discussing aging and related problems was easier since their move. Residents often discussed how active other residents were and the frequency of those discussions were significantly related to the length of residence in High Rise. Activity, unlike health which tended to be viewed in very personal terms by the residents, was group centered in nature.

Insert Table 3 about here

Awareness of problems. The data indicated that the residents of High Rise viewed the problems of older people as different from

[6] $X^2=5.24$, (d.f.=2), p.=.06

those of younger people. A total of 77.0 percent of the respondents took that position. However, the percentage did not increase with length of residence.

One important manifestation of aging group-consciousness, according to Rose (1962:126), is an increased interest among the aged in political issues, especially those issues that have an impact on older people. The findings revealed that 74.4 percent of the residents had voted in the last (1972) Presidential election and that 88.5 percent were very interested or somewhat interested in politics. Table 4 shows that this interest had increased since the residentsmmoved into High Rise.

Insert Table 4 about here

Length of residence and aging group-consciousness. As measured by the index developed for the present study, the level of aging group-consciousness significantly increased with length of residence. That is, the general trend was toward significantly higher levels of aging group-consciousness as the length of residence increased. It should be noted that the aging group-consciousness scores and length of residence have been collapsed into two groups for the analysis presented in Table 5.

Insert Table 5 about here

Morale. Social gerontologists have attempted to relate morale to a variety of independent variables, including age, health, and activity (Maddox and Eisdorfer, 1962). In the present study no significant relationship was found between any

of those three variables and morale. However, the findings presented in Table 6 indicate that aging group-consciousness and morale were positively associated. That is, the higher the level of aging group-consciousness, the higher the level of morale.

Insert Table 6 about here

DISCUSSION

The concept of subculture is based upon the assumption that individuals must interact with each other over a period of time for a distinctive subculture to develop. Therefore, it may be logically concluded that the longer a group of individuals interacts with each other, the greater the chance that a subculture will develop. The length of time a person had been a member of an age-concentrated community was used as the independent variable in two hypotheses.

First, it was hypothesized that the longer a person is a member of an age-concentrated community, the more likely he or she will be to adopt a special set of values. Based on the subculture of the aging theory, two fundamental components of this value system would be health and social activity. Regarding health, contrary to what was expected based on the theory, there were no significant findings in the area of health. That is, health tended to be viewed in highly personal terms.

Social activity was found to be a significant topic of conversation in High Rise. One special type of activity, which

was generally accepted by both men and women, was pool playing. Pool playing occurred every weekday afternoon in the recreation area. During the interviews respondents noted that pool playing was an acceptable activity for women in High Rise, but it would not be sanctioned by society in general.

While the data indicated that a special status system was developed to a limited degree in High Rise, it was not as fully developed as Rose's theory would predict. However, Rose (1962: 124) listed four influences which would keep the elderly in contact with the larger society and thus minimize the development of an aging subculture. These influences include: (1) continued contacts with family, (2) the mass media, (3) continued employment, and (4) "an attitude of active resistence toward aging and toward participation in the aging subculture" (Rose, 1962: 124). Although no data were gathered regarding the mass media, and continued employment was practically non-existent among the respondents, continued family contacts and resistence to aging were important limiting factors.

First, 70.8 percent of the sample had regular contact, that is, some contact each month, with a relative. What is more important, the percentage of those having regular contact with a relative <u>increased</u> with length of residence. In other words, the longer a respondent had resided in High Rise, the more likely they were to have regular contact with a relative. Second, although the median age of the sample was 75.3 years, 29.6 percent still classified themselves as "middle aged," while another 17.4 percent used some phrase other than old or elderly

or refused to answer the question. The conclusion that denial of aging is a barrier to the development of an aging subculture has been supported by Ward (1977). Ward (1977:505) found that a significantly higher percentage of "elderly" identifiers exhibited aging group-consciousness in comparison to middle-aged self-identifiers.

A second hypothesis relating length of residence and aging group-consciousness was examined: The longer a person is a resident of an age concentrated community, the higher the degree of aging group-consciousness. Rose (1962:124) proposed a three phase model that characterized the development of aging group-consciousness. Each of those phases was examined.

During the first phase of the development of aging group-consciousness, the aged join age graded associations for the aged. The data in the present study did not directly follow the expected pattern. That is, instead of membership levels in the Senior Center increasing with length of residence, active membership declined slightly. However, the interview data indicated that much of the decline could be attributed to the content of the daily program, the focus on "arts and crafts." Several residents stated that they were still interested in the Center, but that they had made more objects than they could use. Therefore, although the actual rates of participation in the Center's activities declined slightly, the data indicated that the Senior Center remained an important focal point of activity and identification with the group for most respondents. It is also important to note that the slight decline in the

Senior Center program attendance was offset by increased attendance at the weekly Senior Citizens Club. This group, which was composed primarily of older people who lived outside of High Rise, was discussing expanding the activities, including bus trips to the state capital to talk with legislators, at the time the present study was conducted.

The data concerning the discussion of social activity supported the contention that many of the residents were beginning to view their problems in terms of the group and not on individual terms. That is, 72.8 percent sometimes or often discussed how active a resident was. In addition, 85.2 percent said it was easier now to discuss the problems of aging than it was before moving into High Rise, or that it was the same as before.

The development of aging group-consciousness was also indicated by the findings regarding voting behavior and interest in political issues that concern the aged. Previous studies have found that voting reaches a plateau during the middle years and declines when people pass the age of 70 (Riley and Foner, 1968: 353). However, this decline did not seem to have taken place in High Rise. Given the median age of the sample, 75.8 years, voting was above the expected level based upon previous research. Continued interest in voting was, however, also reported by Gubrium (1972). According to Gubrium (1972:423), voting behavior was influenced by a continuity of social support and was not a function of age. Those findings indicate that the development of aging group-consciousness should have a positive affect on

continued interest in politics. In the present study, the degree of interest in political issues concerning the aged was also significantly related to the length of residence in High Rise.

In sum, as length of residence increased, residents were found to enjoy being with older people more than with younger adults, to feel that older people have problems that are different from those of other groups in society, and to maintain and to even express an increasing interest in politics, despite advancing age. As hypothesized, the degree of aging group-consciousness increased significantly with length of residence. According to the data presented in Table 5, only 47.5 percent of the respondents were found to exhibit high levels of aging group-consciousness, as opposed to 52.5 percent with low levels. However, those findings agreed with Rose's (1962:127) statement that, although those older persons exhibiting high levels of aging group-consciousness are growing in numbers, they still represent a numerical minority.

Finally, it was hypothesized that the higher the level of aging group-consciousness, the higher the level of morale. The findings presented in Table 6 supported that hypothesis. Morale was not found to be significantly related to age, health, or activity. Those findings concerning activity were important. That is, the level of morale of the residents of High Rise was not found to be a function of activity, or disengagement, but was significantly related to a complex set of factors referred to collectively as aging group-consciousness.

The findings of the present study have been supported by the recently published research of Ward (1977), who examined the relationship between aging group-consciousness and self-esteem. Ward (1977:511) found that while aging group-consciousness was not widespread in a random sample of older people living in Madison, Wisconsin, "aging group-consciousness resulted in higher self-esteem for those who identified themselves as elderly." Although his findings are in general agreement with those presented in the present study, Ward (1977:504) found that aging group-consciousness was not directly related to self-esteem. The findings presented in the present study indicated a direct relationship between aging group-consciousness and morale.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The data presented in the present study support the subculture of the aging theory. The most important finding was the significant relationship between aging group-consciousness and morale. The data indicate that a social setting which fosters the development of an aging subculture can contribute to higher levels of morale for the older people living in age concentrated communities. Moreover, social activity may be viewed as only one component of such a social setting.

The denial of aging, as Rose (1962) stated, was found to be a factor which inhibits the development of an aging subculture. Ward (1977:504) has also noted that age identification is an indicator of awareness of one's own aging and, "once

this awareness has occurred, aging group-consciousness helps maintain normal levels of self-esteem." However, in many places, such as the area of Kansas where the present study was conducted, practitioners have avoided the use of the terms "old" and "aged" in favor of labels such as "senior citizen." In addition, "middle age" activity norms are emphasized. While the findings presented in the present study are certainly not conclusive, they do seem to indicate that practitioners should develop programs which encourage age identification. Programs which encourage the denial of aging may, in fact, result in an outcome that is the opposite of the goal of many programs, the maintenance of a high level of morale.

Regarding the theory of the subculture of the aging in general, one particular problem looms large; the implied causal sequence of the development of an aging subculture. Rose (1965b), in his empirical research on aging group-consciousness, assumed that group membership was an antecedent of aging group-consciousness. Empirical research is needed to examine the causal sequence stated by Rose and to reconceptualize the theory where it may be necessary. In addition to this problem, the present study raises three other important issues which require additional research.

First, the conditions for the formation of an aging subculture must be specified. Ward (1977:514) states that the "aging subculture is likely to remain scattered and localized . . . since age-segregated settings with certain characteristics seem to be required, and general societal trends are not likely

to be sufficient." However, the societal characteristics Ward referred to were not identified by his research. Secondly, further research is required concerning the relationship between aging group-consciousness and morale. Finally, the relationship between age identification and aging group-consciousness should be clarified.

CONCLUSION

The central concern of the present study was to examine the subculture of the aging theory and, in particular, aging group-consciousness. The study was conducted in a multi-story housing facility for the elderly. A 44-item questionnaire was administered to 81 residents of the facility and 22 of those respondents were also interviewed. Aging group-consciousness was measured by a six-item index developed for the study and morale was measured by the Kutner Morale Scale.

The data presented may be summarized in terms of three principle findings. First, the data supported, in general, the subculture of the aging theory. Second, a significant number of residents of High Rise had come to view themselves as members of an emerging social group. That is, they possessed a high level of aging group-consciousness. Finally, aging group-consciousness was found to be significantly associated with morale; the higher the degree of aging group-consciousness, the higher the level of morale.

REFERENCES

Bultena, Gordon L.
1968 "Age-grading in the social integration of an elderly male population," The Journal of Gerontology 23:539-43.

Cutler, Stephen J.
1973 "Perceived prestige loss and political attitudes among the aged," The Gerontologist 13:69-75.

Gubrium, Jaber F.
1972 "Continuity in social support, political interest, and voting in old age," The Gerontologist 13:421-3.

Kutner, Bernard, David Fanshel, Alice M. Togo, and Thomas S. Langner
1956 Five Hundred Over Sixty. New York: Russell Sage.

Maddox, George L. and Carl Eisdorfer
1962 "Some correlates of activity and morale among the elderly," Social Forces 42:254-60.

Riley, Matilda White and Anne Foner
1968 Aging and Society, Volume I, An Inventory of Research Findings. New York: Russell Sage.

Rose, Arnold M.
1962 "The subculture of the aging: a topic for sociological research," The Gerontologist 2:123-7.

1964 "Implications and challenges." in Daniel E. Alleger (ed.), Society and Aging in the Twentieth Century. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press.

1965a "The subculture of the aging." Pp. 3-16 in Arnold M. Rose and Warren A. Peterson (eds.), Older People and Their Social World. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.

1965b "Group consciousness among the aging." Pp. 19-36 in Arnold M. Rose and Warren A. Peterson (eds.), Older People and Their Social World. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.

Rosow, Irving
1967 Social Integration of the Aged. New York: The Free Press.

1974 Socialization to Old Age. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Trela, James L.
1971 "Some political consequences of senior center and other old age group memberships," The Gerontologist 11:118-23.

Ward, Russell A.
1977 "Aging group consciousness; implications in an older sample," Sociology and Social Research 61:496-519.

TABLE 1

Aging Group-Consciousness Index

Question	Response Scored +1
1. Do you attend any activities at the Senior Center?	Yes
2. Membership listed in a group for older people, other than the Senior Center.	Member
3. Since you moved into High Rise do you find that it is easier to talk with people about the problems of growing older?	Yes
4. Since I moved to High Rise, I enjoy being with people my own age more than being with younger people?	Agree
5. Older people have problems that are much different from the problems of younger people?	Agree
6. Have you become more interested in political issues that affect older people, such as Social Security and health insurance, since you moved into High Rise?	Yes

TABLE 2

Kutner Morale Scale

Question	Response Scored +1
1. How often do you feel there is just no point in living?	Hardly ever
2. Things just keep getting worse and worse for me as I grow older?	Disagree
3. How much do you regret the chances you missed during your life to do a better job of living?	Not at all
4. All in all, how much unhappiness would you say you find in life today?	Almost none
5. On the whole, how satisfied would you say you are with your way of life today?	Very satisfied
6. How much do you plan ahead the things you will be doing next week or the week after -- would you say you make many plans, a few plans, or almost none?	Many plans
7. As you get older, would you say things seem to be better or worse than you thought they would be?	Better

Source: pp. 302-3 in Kutner, Bernard, David Fanshel, Alice M. Togo, and Thomas S. Langner, Five Hundred Over Sixty. New York: Russell Sage, 1956.

TABLE 3

Discussing How Active a Resident Was With Others

Response	Length of Residence			
	Less Than 2 Years	2-4 Yrs.	Over 4 Years	Total
Often	1.3%	3.9%	11.5%	16.7%
Sometimes	7.7%	12.8%	42.3%	62.8%
Seldom or Never	11.5%	3.8%	5.2%	20.5%
Total	20.5%	20.5%	59.0%	100.0%

X^2= 16.65 (4 d.f.), p.= .01, C= .42

TABLE 4

Level of Interest in Politics Since Moving into High Rise

Opinion	Length of Residence		
	3 Years or Less	Over 3 Years	Total
Increased Interest	16.7%	55.1%	71.8%
No Change	11.5%	16.7%	28.2%
Total	28.2%	71.8%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 3.99$ (1 d.f.), p.= .05, $\phi = .26$

TABLE 5

Length of Residence and Aging Group-Consciousness

Aging Group-Consciousness	Length of Residence		
	3 Years or Less	Over 3 Years	Total
High	7.8%	39.7%	47.5%
Low	20.5%	32.0%	52.5%
Total	28.3%	71.7%	100.0%

$X^2 = 5.00$ (1 d.f.), p.= .03.

TABLE 6

Aging Group-Consciousness and Morale

Morale Level	Aging Group-Consciousness			
	Low	Moderate	High	Total
High	4.2%	19.7%	28.2%	52.1%
Moderate	2.8%	7.1%	11.3%	21.2%
Low	12.7%	7.0%	7.0%	26.7%
Total	19.7%	33.8%	46.5%	100.0%

X^2= 12.97 (4 d.f.), p.= .02, C= .23, V=.81